RACES CONGRESS NUMBER

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Two SEPTEMBER, 1911 Number Five

Design by
WALTER CRANE

THE SEAL OF THE RACES CONGRESS

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization—associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

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Along the Color Line

POLITICS.

Disfranchised colored men in Annapolis, Maryland, are again threatening to bring suits for irregularities in keeping them from voting at the last election.

¶ Montgomery County, Alabama, has 53,000 Negroes; less than 100 of these have been enfranchised under the new suffrage law.

¶ Cincinnatus LeConte has been elected president of Haiti to succeed the deposed Simon. LeConte is the eighteenth president since Toussaint L'Ouverture.

¶ Much merriment has been excited in the colored as well as in the white press by the suggestion of Representative Slade, of Georgia, that colored men should be allowed to vote on condition that two chaste women swear they would trust them in the dark. Mr. Slade means two chaste white women, but there is some difficulty in getting that into the bill in a direct manner. Many questions arise, such as how dark it must be, who is to judge of the chastity of the ladies, whether the rule ought not to be applied to settle the woman suffrage question also, substituting two chaste men as arbiters. Mr. Slade has been rather annoyed at the mirth he has occasioned, but says his bill will pass.

ECONOMICS.

A pottery company, with a capital of $10,000, to employ colored people, is to be started in Zanesville, Ohio.

¶ A movement looking toward migration to Liberia has been started among dissatisfied colored people in Oklahoma.

¶ Dr. Eugene E. Noble, president of Gouches College, thinks the colored population of Baltimore very badly housed. He is reported as approving the West segregation ordinance, but he finds that it "does not meet the situation as completely as it might." He describes a tour of inspection through the alleys:

"The filth that I found everywhere was appalling. Garbage and dead cats were visible, with nobody sufficiently interested to see that they were properly disposed of. But probably the worst part of what I saw was the smallness of the houses. People cannot live in such places without suffering unduly. This is due in a large part to houses in the front and rear of those I observed, causing a dearth of illumination and ventilation. Such conditions cannot be healthful, and a city ordinance should be passed to prohibit them and afford everyone a proper return for rent paid. The majority of persons living on these alleys are Negroes. Outbreaks of disease among them will naturally spread to their white neighbors. I wished I had a camera with me that I might have been able to preserve the sights I witnessed.

"The segregation ordinance should be made to include the removal of all Negroes to restricted streets, not necessarily in one section of the city, but so that they will be assured of better housing and thus protect themselves and their neighbors from the spread of disease. I realize full well that such a measure will meet with much opposition on the part of property owners, but it should be passed in some reasonable form."

¶ The colored population of the following cities for 1910 has been published by the Census Bureau: Baltimore, 84,749; Richmond, 47,222; Chattanooga, 17,924; Memphis, 52,451; Nashville, 36,523.

¶ The chief health officer of Richmond, Va., is being widely quoted as the author of certain ridiculous predictions as to the dying out of the Negro race.

¶ The Knights of Pythias of Tennessee report $40,000 worth of property on hand.

¶ The report from the United States Census shows that in the nine cotton States 18.9 per cent. of the white people and 17.1 per cent. of the colored people live in cities and towns in 1910. The colored people are increasing fast in cities and towns, but very slowly in the country districts.

EDUCATION.

Heretofore the practice has been in the District of Columbia to follow the general custom in Southern States in so juggling the accounts of school appropriations as to make it impossible to tell which were for white and which for colored schools. The serious cutting off of appropriations for colored schools has so aroused the Negroes that they are promised their just proportion in the future.

¶ The fourth annual meeting of the National Association of Colored Teachers has been held in St. Louis, Mo. W. T. B. Williams, of Hampton, Va., was elected president. The next session is to be at Chattanooga, Tenn.

¶ The University of Pennsylvania has conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on R. R. Wright, Jr., editor of the Christian Recorder. Mr. Wright is the second colored man to receive this degree from this institution.

¶ Mrs. E. A. Hackley has been holding a summer vocal institute in New York with picked students from various parts of the United States. Mrs. Hackley is now on a tour to Canada, and will later open a series of free vocal classes for children in Chicago.

¶ The West Virginia Seminary and College, a Baptist institution, is threatened with extinction on account of the withdrawal of State and county aid.

¶ A new hospital has been given Tuskegee Institute.

¶ The second convention of the National Negro Educational Association has been held at Denver, Col.

¶ Miss D. C. Guin, of New Bedford, has won a $200 scholarship at Radcliffe College. She was salutatorian of her class at the New Bedford High School, 1909.

¶ The American Interchurch College, with white teachers, has been established at Nashville, Tenn. It has a colored department for training religious and social workers.

¶ The Illinois Supreme Court is again considering the question of the rights of colored children in so-called white schools. Formerly the court decided in favor of colored litigants, but the lower court repeatedly refused to obey the mandate.

¶ The fifteenth Hampton Negro Conference was held at Hampton Institute July 19 and 20. Resolutions dealing with the following topics were unanimously agreed upon: Influence of the Negro church upon moral, educational and material welfare of rural communities; betterment of school grounds and buildings; ministers' institutes; co-operation of all organizations for race advancement; crusade against consumption; better preparations of Negro school teachers, and the need of stimulating public interest in colored schools.

THE CHURCH.

The Woman Missionary Board of the A. M. E. Church is holding its quadrennial meeting in Knoxville, Tenn.

¶ An educational and missionary convention of the five colored conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church has met in St. Louis. Many prominent speakers were present, including Dr. M. C. B. Mason and Bishop I. B. Scott.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

A committee of representatives from a number of leading colored and white organizations for social service has been systematically investigating conditions in St. Louis for more than a year. The report shows that colored people enjoy practically the same advantages in schools, libraries, parks and recreation enterprises as white persons, although of course there are separate schools. In several hospitals colored people are not received, it is reported, or if received, are not accorded the same treatment white people receive. The report continues: "The housing and sanitary conditions among colored people are very bad in some parts of the city, but probably no worse than among neighboring white people. It is interesting to note that the city has practically no problem of destitute or neglected colored children. There are none in the Industrial School, few in the Juvenile Court." The problems of relief, too, "seem to be comparatively fewer and proportionately less than among white people." The report is encouraging, especially the spirit of co-operation in which it has been made. It points out, however, that "both educational and recreation activities and advantages for the colored people need greatly to be improved, particularly in the field of commercial recreation, dance halls, theaters, etc."

¶ It has been proposed to the Board of Administrators of Charity Hospital, New Orleans, that an annex for colored patients be built. The matter is in charge of the house committee. Dr. J. A. Danna, house surgeon, reports that the building to be adequate for the requirements would cost more than $35,000. He reports, also, that leaders among the colored people have started a fund to aid in building the annex.

¶ In the post office at Atlanta, Ga., it is said that three-fourths of the clerks and carriers are colored, and there are nearly 100 colored clerks in the railway mail service with headquarters in Atlanta.

¶ Colored people of Tennessee are offering to help the State support a colored reformatory, if one is established.

¶ The Mayor of Chattanooga has written the following letter to the Mayor of Charlotte:

"Dear Sir: I am endeavoring to inaugurate a movement looking to the protection of the ignorant and innocent among the Negroes arrested for trivial offenses and often without cause.

"I am also endeavoring to bring about a movement looking to the better feeling among the races of this community.

"Have either of these two propositions made any headway in your city?

"Any information that you can give me in regard to this will be appreciated.

"Yours very truly,

"T. C. THOMPSON."

¶ The National Negro Business League met in Little Rock, Ark., August 16 to 20. With the League met the National Negro Press Association, the National Bankers' Association and the National Bar Association. An address of welcome was delivered by Governor George W. Donaghey.

¶ The colored Odd Fellows of Georgia are planning to erect a $100,000 building.

¶ Mr. Harry H. Pace was elected Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks at their Boston meeting. Mr. Pace is cashier of the Citizens' Bank, Memphis, Tenn.

¶ A colored music festival held at Atlanta recently was very successful. The leading soprano was Madam Anita P. Brown, of Chicago.

¶ The Mosaic Templars' Grand Lodge has held a large meeting in Little Rock, Ark. The order is about to erect a four-story building as headquarters, at a cost of $40,000.

¶ The Texas State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has met at Austin, Texas. They are seeking to establish a colored reformatory, and a well-to-do colored man has offered five acres of land near Houston for this purpose.

CRIME.

The record for the lynching and burning of colored men in 1911 bids fair to surpass the record of any recent year. The last horrible affair took place in Coatesville, Pa.; a colored laborer while drunk fatally shot a night watchman. The man was pursued and attempted suicide. He was brought wounded to town and placed in the hospital. Thence he was taken by a mob led by a policeman, dragged, chained to his cot, several miles, tortured and burned to death in the presence of a large concourse, including women. His bones and the chain with which he was bound were distributed as souvenirs. Coatesville is quite near to Philadelphia.

At the time of our going to press three arrests have been made. One of the accused persons is a special policeman, thirty-five years old, in the employ of a traction company. Two are boys, one of them the nephew of a distinguished Philadelphia physician. The chief burgess of Coatesville, in a letter to the National Association, published on another page, declares that the lynchers were mostly boys. The special investigator of the New York Evening Post and the National Association, who went to Coatesville immediately after the crime, does not think that the real leaders were boys.

"Other arrests are expected to-day," he writes on August 17, "but these first three cleared the atmosphere and served to show where the authorities stood and what progress they were making. Many will criticize the district attorney for picking two boys and making scapegoats of them, while allowing those who were really responsible for the lynching to escape free. But the county officers insist that the leaders of the mob were boys. It seems that if anybody made scapegoats of these boys it was not the district attorney, but those who planned the outrage. Mostly older men, they were evidently careful not to take any too active part in the actual seizing and burning of the Negro. They contented themselves apparently with the more honorable task of acting as strategists of the expedition, and left the glory of the actual work to the hot-blooded younger men.

"That is why the authorities have found it easier to get evidence against the boys than against the rest. But the district attorney believes that it is only a matter of time and persistence before he can land the 'men higher up,' and he in-

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tends to prosecute to the full extent of the law all those arrested. On the ground that the lynching was premeditated, he will urge the jury to return indictments for murder in the first degree. If they should do this the men would be hanged.

"If, as the district attorney contends, the leaders of the mob were mostly boys, the police are open to still more blame than has already been put upon them. For a slight show of firmness and determination to protect the Negro prisoner might have deterred them. But it now appears that practically no effort was made by the police either to prevent the lynching, or to stop it when it was under way. No 'moral wave' has swept over the community. If the mass of the citizens felt any real repentance it would not be so difficult for the district attorney to collect evidence against the real leaders of the mob. There were thousands of people in the mob, among them unquestionably some of the most prominent citizens."

¶ Governor Cruce, of Oklahoma, has brought down on himself great indignation by commuting to life imprisonment the sentence of a young colored man named Prather who had murdered a white farmer. Prather pleaded guilty. He was a wandering, friendless boy of seventeen, who shot the farmer after he had been drinking. The Governor said, in the very manly letter announcing the commutation of the sentence, that only two persons had written to him asking mercy for the criminal on the ground of his youth, one of these persons being an influential white man and the other a colored woman. The Governor pointed out that of many murderers only one had been executed in Oklahoma City, and he had been a Negro. He believed if the boy had been white he would have been deluged with petitions for his mercy, and since the law should show leniency to the weak rather than to the strong he felt it his duty to commute Prather's sentence, however much it might cost him politically. A storm of protest has come from many of the white papers.

¶ A respectable and prosperous colored man, who lived in one of the Georgia cities, sold a piece of property, and it was supposed that he carried a considerable sum of money on his person. He was the owner of a large automobile which he rented. Two white men engaged the automobile for a trip in the country and induced the owner—this colored man—to drive them on this trip to the country. His wife tried to dissuade him from going, but he went and never returned. On a search a few days afterward a hammer and a part of a man's skull were found, and later the man's body, wrapped in cloth, was found in a well. Further search revealed the fact that the automobile had been sold in a town one hundred miles away by strangers. Two white men have since been arrested on suspicion.

¶ An attempt is being made to secure the release of Albert Thompson, of the Twenty-fifth United States Infantry, who is serving a sentence of thirty years' imprisonment in California. He was accused of assault on a white woman, but two successive juries refused to convict him on the evidence. He was given his freedom, but as soon as he reported to the army he received a sentence by court-martial.

¶ Within the past two years seventeen colored women have been murdered in Atlanta and not a single arrest has been made.

¶ Miss Grace Campbell has been appointed probation officer at the Criminal Courts Building, New York City.

¶ Bob Cole, the well-known colored comedian and composer, is dead.

¶ Charles H. Burrill, a colored printer and publisher, died at his home in Brooklyn. He was born in Providence in 1843, and was a descendant on one side from Patience Prophet, one of the Indian squaws who sold the Providence Plantations to Roger Williams. At the age of fifteen Burrill was apprenticed to A. Crawford Greene & Sons, printers, and remained with the firm for twenty-two years, becoming assistant foreman. He was later connected with the publication of various periodicals. At one time he was a first lieutenant in the Rhode Island militia.

SCIENCE.

An interesting controversy is going on in England in regard to the declaration recently made by Dr. Frobenius, a German traveler, that he had discovered the site of the lost Atlantis, referred to by Plato in the "Timaeus."

In Ifé, the sacred capital of the Yoruba country in the British colony of Southern Nigeria, Dr. Frobenius found a bronze head and some other works of art which he declared to be évidences of the lost civilization. There has, by the way, been a dispute over the ownership of these objects, the doctor saying that he became legally possessed of them, while the British Commissioner of the district has intervened, asserting that the objects are sacred and not to be touched.

Dr. Frobenius' theory is discredited in an article by the president of the Society of Antiquaries, C. H. Read, in the March issue of the Burlington Magazine.

Mr. Read speaks of the high possibilities of Negro art, and points out that Nigeria is full of monuments of vanished cults, remains being constantly unearthed of which the natives profess entire ignorance.

Ifé, where the bronze head was kept in a grove as an object of great reverence, under the guardianship of an old native priest, is a town of considerable importance in the locality. The Oni of Ifé is a kind of Pope, who has the right of crowning all the chiefs of the various Yoruba kingdoms, including the King of Benin. It is therefore a very likely spot in which to find art treasures of earlier times.

With regard to the bronze head itself, Mr. Read points out that the headdress is peculiar, and that the upper part of the head above it is empty, as if a cavity had been left for the insertion of a cap of some other material. It is curious, he adds, that there is in the British Museum a cast of a small terra-cotta head, also from life, the features of which are practically identical with those of the bronze, so that there is no doubt they represent the same person.

VAGARIES OF PREJUDICE.

Governor Blease, of South Carolina, in making an address to the Order of Red Men, congratulated them on the fact that there were no Negro lodges of the order. He said he had "positive proof that there were a man and his wife living in a distant State trying to perfect organizations throughout the Southern States among the Negroes, claiming the societies formed would pay benefits in cases of sickness or death or distress, but before any Negro could become a member of the society he had to sign an oath that he would not work but eight hours a day and would obey the mandates of superior officers and he was being taught that he was the social equal of the white man." Governor Blease said it was not true that he was unfriendly to the Negro, when the Negro was in his place, but he wants to sound a word of warning. He feels that it is of vital importance to the white race to break up secret orders among colored people.

¶ A Southern athlete, Harry Fitzpatrick, of New Orleans, traveled all the way to Chicago to take part in the contest of the Amateur Athletic Union, but when he found that a colored man, F. T. Holmes, was to compete he withdrew his name. Mr. Everett C. Brown, president of the union, made no move to prevent Mr. Fitzpatrick's withdrawal, remarking that he could see no reason why a colored athlete should not be treated exactly like a white athlete.

¶ The Texas Legislature has refused to allow Mr. B. T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Institute, to speak at the State capitol.

¶ Asbury Park is being agitated again over the question of allowing colored people to bathe in the Atlantic Ocean at that point.

¶ The city of Memphis is still unable to purchase a decent site as a park for its Negro citizens.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L. S. Berg, of New York, president of the New Orleans, Mobile and Chicago Railroad, has made David Mitchell, a Pullman car porter, who saved his life in a train wreck, his "valet for life." In the wreck, which occurred in northern Minnesota some months ago, Mrs. Berg was killed. Eight cars and the locomotive fell down an embankment, and Mr. Berg's private car and two Pullmans were burned before relief trains could reach the scene of the wreck.

"While there was much confusion and excitement among the passengers and the train crew," said a friend of Mr. Berg, "Mitchell, the porter on one of the Pullman cars which had tumbled down the embankment, never at any time lost his head. He saved six or eight persons in the Pullman from being burned to death, and when he was certain all the passengers in his car were safe he ran back to Mr. Berg's car, which by that time had been partly consumed by the flames. Mrs. Berg was dead, but the Negro succeeded in prying open a window and rescuing Mr. Berg."

We trust the position of "valet for life" is sufficiently agreeable to reward Mr. Mitchell for his heroism.

¶ We are indebted to the sporting editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press for the following information:

"The three leading branches of sport in America are baseball, racing and boxing. In boxing and racing there is no distinction between the blacks and the whites. Baseball—that is the professional kind—bars the colored athlete. Recently it was reported that the Reds had signed two players from the Connecticut league who have Spanish blood in their veins and are very dark skinned. As soon as the news spread that the Reds were negotiating for the Cubans a protest went up from the fans against introducing Cuban talent into the ranks of the major leagues. The kick will probably hold good, despite the fact that the boys from the island are received all over the East with as much hospitality as any of their comrades whose skins are white. Cubans are not Negroes, but there seems to be a sentiment against them in some quarters."

OPINION

THE COATESVILLE LYNCHING.

The Coatesville horror is the subject of wide comment and of more wholesouled denunciation than has often greeted outrages against the Negro. The New York Times says there is not "one palliating circumstance," and that probably "nowhere in the United States was a man ever lynched with less excuse or with an equal heaping up of horror on horror." Walker was killed, it says, "not because he was a murderer, but because he was a Negro murderer, and for the same reason they display in killing him a ferocity for which 'inhuman' is a word too mild and 'brutal' a slander on the beasts." The World asks: "What are the thoughts, vengeful or gloomy, of the black men of the country as they ponder this outbreak of bestial frenzy, in which the whole race is struck at through one wretched man? The law, which was powerless to protect, must be strong to punish. But no punishment can soon restore the social order to the level from which such deeds thrust it toward the abyss." The Herald sees evidence of growing lawlessness against the Negro, and the Evening Post thinks that after the crime at Coatesville one would hardly feel safe in believing that a Negro may not some day be tortured to death on Boston Common.

The Springfield Republican observes: "The North long since fell from the position where it could speak of white savagery toward the Negro as peculiar to the South. We can now, therefore, treat of the Pennsylvania mob outbreak and Negro burning as a national extremity in community crime and a broadly national shame."

The Chicago Daily News in a strong editorial says: "A peculiarly cruel and brutalizing crime is coming to be characteristic of the white race in the United States. Perhaps the progressive white race will next burn a Negro on Plymouth Rock. Lynching as the favorite crime of self-righteous whites is likely soon to claim recognition in every quarter unless the self-righteousness which makes lynching possible gives way sufficiently to make room for a little sober reflection. This would disclose that the white race is in greater peril spiritually from the terribly infectious lynching plague than is the Negro physically. Why is race prejudice spreading? The Negro to-day is at a higher point in mental and moral development than he ever was before. This being true, it becomes apparent that the spread among the whites of the lynching spirit and of the rage for shutting out the Negro from gainful employment marks the progress of moral breakdown in the self-satisfied superior race."

VARDAMAN.

The election of Vardaman of Mississippi to the United States Senate by a plurality of about 20,000 votes leads the Detroit Journal to remark that "the hope of the white race has disappeared from the prize ring, but now pops up in Mississippi senatorial politics." Vardaman's campaign, with its theatrical "white pageant," has been described in THE CRISIS. The New York Sun prints an account of the demonstration, written by a Northern newspaper man. He says:

"It is impossible for people in our part of the country to appraise the importance and effect of this theatrical, not to say melodramatic pageant, but down here it was prodigious It materialized the essence of Vardaman's campaign. It was an apotheosis of the color line. It revived the terrors of the carpet-bag period, and invested with vicarious consequence the spooks of a long-buried past. But Vardaman knows how to play upon the passions and prejudices of the red necks and the hill billies and he is doing it with a master hand."

The editor of the New Orleans Picayune has an editorial which shows how Vardaman "plays on passions and prejudices." A "Mississippi Wife" writes to the Picayune saying that the women of her State supported Vardaman as "the foremost champion and protector in Mississippi of the white women from the encroachments and assaults of the Negroes and the evils of whisky." Whereupon the Picayune remarks:

"Major Vardaman has repeatedly, and for several years, declared his intention when he should become a Senator of the United States to propose and work for the repeal of those amendments to the National Constitution which enfranchise the Negro and assume the guardianship of the Negroes' citizenship. It is doubtless this announcement by the Major, who is now a Senator-elect, that has aroused the enthusiasm and special support of the women of his State."

The Picayune does not find this unnatural. "Ignorance," it says, "now dis-

franchises most Negroes, but the free educational advantages which are being given to the Negroes in all the Southern States will at no distant period in the future convert all male Negroes into voters, and the incessant demands for political and social equality which are being dinned into their ears and minds will one day bear most evil fruits. Therefore, the conflict over Negro suffrage is going, sooner or later, to be fought over, and it matters little whether it be brought on by Senator Vardaman or not."

However, most editors take a somewhat different view of the case. The Philadelphia Record cannot see that the Fifteenth Amendment is a fit subject for attack, as long as "the white South is in no danger from the Negro vote with the grandfather clause grinding out its appointed task." The Buffalo Express observes: "This is organizing and capitalizing race hatred for political purposes about as shamelessly as it has ever been done," and the Richmond Times-Dispatch declares that "to make the barbaric picture perfect, Vardaman should ride up Pennsylvania Avenue to the capitol with a hundred and sixty ebony Mississippians chained to his car of triumph."

A SYMPOSIUM.

The International, a journal published monthly in New York, has collected the opinions of a number of distinguished gentlemen on the subject of race prejudice. Three questions were asked: (1) Does the existence of race prejudice in a nation presuppose the inherent superiority of the dominant race? (2) Is race prejudice necessarily injurious to the welfare of a community? (3) Miscegenation, deportation, segregation, have variously been suggested as solutions of the so-called Negro problem in our country. Which of these do you consider the most feasible; how would their several executions of these plans affect the nation; can you suggest any other plan? We quote the answers in the order given in the International:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois sends the reply which leads off the discussion:

"1. The existence of race prejudice shows that the race which possesses it is afraid that it is not superior.

"2. Race prejudice is the most injurious thing in modern history. In earlier times race prejudice, hatred of the foreigner and the despising of the stranger, served for self-protection. They do not so serve to-day.

"3. None of the three plans are solutions of the Negro problem. Miscegenation is impossible unless both parties wish it. The economic and social cost of deportation would be too stupendous; segregation is physically impossible. The other plan which I suggest is to treat men as men according to their desert and ability despite their color."

Professor Friedrich Hirth, who holds the chair of Chinese in Columbia University, comes next:

"If you add the word 'imaginary' before the word 'inherent,' I would certainly answer this question in the affirmative. Some nations like, some individuals, suffer from megalomania, and this alone is sufficient to create race prejudice." Professor Hirth, as the son of a German father and a French mother, has no objection to miscegenation among European peoples. He does not know enough about the Negro problem, he says, to express an opinion as to the effect of a mixture of blood of black and white races.

Mr. Edwin E. Slosson, literary editor of the Independent, replies:

"1. The root of race prejudice is fear. It is an outward manifestation of an inward misgiving as to the reality of the assumed superiority in some particular. This self-distrust may not be justified, but the existence of race prejudice is in itself a defect and, so far as it goes, a mark of inferiority.

"2. Of course it is. It dwarfs the progress of both races and dissipates energy through friction that might be employed in useful work.

"3. None of the plans are feasible. The problem cannot be solved by any such political expedients, but a solution may be rendered unnecessary by the simple application of the old-fashioned principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

"It is no longer worth while quarreling about the relative standing of existing races because there is a greater difference between the highest and lowest of any one race than between the mean of any two races."

Mr. Nissim Behar, director of the national Liberal Immigration League, says: "The existence of race prejudice presupposes merely ignorance and is a human failing common to all nations and races, though its expression may run from silent contempt through vituperation and physical abuse to actual murder." Mr. Behar thinks the color question in the United States has always been discussed with so much emotion that adequate scientific suggestions have never been made.

Mr. John Spargo, the well-known Socialist author, goes into the economic side of the question:

"A good deal of racial antagonism is due to economic competition, or the fear of it, rather than to race prejudice per se. Fear and hatred of the Jew are often engendered by his superiority as a trader. It would be very foolish, however, to ascribe all manifestations of race prejudice and antagonism to economic competition or the fear of it. There is

a real problem of race prejudice confronting the American people. I am very much afraid that it is on the increase—intensified, possibly, by economic competition.

"All race prejudice is, in some of its manifestations at least, injurious to the welfare of the community in which it exists. Whether anti-semitism takes the form of a pogrom, as in Russia, or social ostracism and exclusion from summer resorts and hotels, as in America, it is indubitably injurious and anti-social. And whether prejudice against the Negro takes the form of lynching where a white man would get a legal trial with a right to defend himself, or exclusion from theaters, hotels and similar places, it is likewise injurious to the community because it is anti-social.

"I do not know that anyone to whom serious attention need be paid would contend that the existence of race prejudice in a nation presupposes the inherent superiority of the dominant race."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the rabbi of the Free Synagogue, thinks the questions humorous. He says:

"1 and 2. Far from the existence of race prejudice in a nation presupposing inherent superiority, I should say that the continuance of race prejudice is just as likely to argue inherent inferiority in the prejudiced. This answers your second question, too, not only is race prejudice injurious to the welfare of a community, but it as an expression of lowered moral status and hence intensifies the ill-fare which begets it.

"3. As for miscegenation, deportation or segregation being possible solutions of the so-called race problem, these plans are equally unfeasible. The three 'words' you name are equally feasible—their chief value lying in their polysyllabic ponderosity.

"As for any other plan by way of solution of the so-called Negro problem, why not cease trying solutions which are usually overfacile substitutes for hard effort? The plan is the American plan, and that is fair play, equal opportunity and the absolute democratization of the life of the American nation."

Professor Edward A. Ross, the well-known sociologist of the University of Wisconsin, writes:

"1. The existence of race prejudice is no proof of superiority in the race that feels the prejudice. In many instances in history there has been reciprocal race prejudice.

"2. Race prejudice implies something of a break in the social tissue and is bound to hinder the normal democratic development of the society in which it occurs. It prevents the higher unity of the people and makes the element of force more prominent in government.

"3. I know of no practicable solution of the so-called Negro problem, if by 'solution' is meant the effective application of intelligence to the removal of a difficulty. None of the suggested solutions strike me as practicable. Miscegenation is undesirable and deportation and segregation are not feasible. I judge the problem will never be 'solved,' but that the two races in the South will discover a modus vivendi involving the minimum amount of friction."

Mr. Booker T. Washington, who closes the discussion, writes that "instead of directly answering the questions" he sends an essay on race prejudice which he thinks will serve the purpose. Mr. Washington goes over the history of race prejudice in the past in Europe and says that prejudice can be eradicated only "when people get together on a practical working basis with each other." He continues: "The greatest example of the overcoming of race prejudice is in my opinion in the Southern States. When the Southern people imported into America the wild African they brought among them a man more different, strange and mysterious than any they had ever seen. It took a very long time to accustom the Southern people to Negro slavery. For nearly a hundred years they tried to get along with the white bond servant from England; but in the competition between the two races the African at that particular time and in those particular circumstances proved the more valuable man and he remained."

RULING THE "LESSER BREEDS."

The New York Evening Post has a delicious editorial on the appointment of Lord Kitchener to succeed the late Sir Eldon Gorst as British agent in Egypt. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Price Collier and "other pillars of British imperialism" will approve the appointment, the Post thinks. "The necessity for putting a 'strong man' in charge of the Egyptian Government has long been apparent to those students of the Orient who have taken their viewpoint from the works of Rudyard Kipling and pursued their observations in the pleasant company of British administrators and army officers. In that unprejudiced environment there was borne in upon Mr. Roosevelt in Egypt and upon Mr. Price Collier in India the iniquity and peril of allowing native Bengalis or Egyptians to publish newspapers in their own vernacular and to find fault with their alien rulers. This was almost as atrocious as the gradual disappearance of that humble and unquestioning deference which it was decreed from all time should characterize the bearing of subject Orientals toward their foreign masters. No wonder Mr. Roosevelt felt it his duty to sound a solemn warning. Sir Eldon Gorst's mild

and tolerant rule was breeding anarchy. The hour called for a strong man.

"Now that the strong man has appeared in the shape of Lord Kitchener, it would not be amiss to inquire into the fitness of this type of man for the difficult work of governing a tropical people in this the second decade of the twentieth century. There is no question here of moral issues or other sentimental issues, but of that efficiency which in the strong man is supposed to compensate for the absence of qualities otherwise desirable. India serves as a good example because during the last decade India had the good fortune to have her destinies shaped, not by one strong man, but by two. One was Lord Kitchener in his post as commander-in-chief of the British forces in the peninsula. The other was the late Viceroy, Lord Curzon. A great deal of the strong man's energy is always used up in shoving other strong men out of his way. And that is what happened in India. Lord Curzon, during his second term, fell afoul of Lord Kitchener, and in the end was compelled to resign. The spectacle of the two highest members of the Government engaged in bitter hostilities could not be said to have increased British prestige in the eyes of the Indian natives; but that is a comparatively unimportant matter. The point is that Lord Kitchener had his own views about the reorganization of the Indian army and was allowed to carry them out.

"We do not recall by how many times the Kitchener reforms were supposed to have multiplied the efficiency of the Indian army; but the multiple was a large one. It may be that the northwest frontier was rendered quite impregnable against that Russian invasion which never has been and never will be within the realm of probability. What is certain is that the native Indian army to-day is permeated with anti-English feeling and with rank sedition. The Unionist press at home has roundly declared that disloyalty is more widespread among the native troops to-day than at any time since the Sepoy rebellion; which forms one kind of testimonial to the efficiency of Lord Kitchener's methods in India.

"Of the efficiency of that other strong man, Lord Curzon, there is still more striking evidence. The present unrest in India, which undoubtedly constitutes a very serious problem for its English masters, may be explained in part as a result of Japan's triumph over Russia. The whole Orient caught the reverberations of that historic shock. But there are very few people to deny the fact that what gave life and body to Indian discontent was the partition of the province of Bengal, which Lord Curzon made his pet measure, against the best opinion in India. To the Bengalis this was a partial destruction of their fatherland; in any case, this notoriously unmilitary race has been thrown into a state of violent sedition. The Bengalis are also a quick-witted race, and have easily mastered the tools of modern revolutionism, the inflammatory proclamation and the bomb. If we are to judge strong men by their achievements, it should be written of Lord Curzon that he found India peaceful and left it aflame.

"Compared with this record in India, what is there to be said against the administration of Sir Eldon Gorst, who was so conspicuously not a strong man that it nearly broke Mr. Theodore Roosevelt's heart? Under the Gorst administration there has been a good deal of nationalist agitation, of newspaper warfare, of student manifestations, and just one lamentable case of assassination; India by this time has had fully half a dozen. And because no mailed-fist policies were brought to bear in Egypt, the movement there has fallen back into safe channels, and Lord Kitchener will succeed to a peaceful heritage. The movement has not died out, because civilization has not died out. To expect the Hindu or the Egyptian forever to bow obsequiously to the foreign Sahib or Sidi, forever to be content with having everything done for him and doing nothing for himself, is to court folly and disaster. England has a choice between a policy of repression and a policy of wise concession and political education.

"For, in the last resort, no white Power that rules over Eastern races can escape this dilemma: Either the people you govern prospers under your rule or it does not. If it does not, there is no excuse, of course, for remaining where you are. If it does prosper, there is no power in the world that can permanently withstand the upward pressure of a people in whom national pride must keep pace with national efficiency."

IRIDESCENT HUES OF THE RAINBOW.

The chairman of the Executive Committee is sometimes the recipient of communications from persons in the South who have the darkest suspicions of his designs on the American people through the medium of the National Association. Some of these letters we have published. We now offer our readers another contribution, not a letter this time, but an article which appeared in the Issue, a paper published, apparently, somewhere in Mississippi. J. Potts Holt is the author of the essay, and he pencils a note to the chairman on the margin: "Read and digest and be decent, if you are pure white."

The Hon. J. Potts Holt has read scientific works, he says, but he doesn't approve of them. "Professor Hyde, of England, now advances the theory that 'original man was dark brown in color, not white.' Be that as it may, Darwin monkeyed with the subject of man as well. Their privilege. But common sense nor reason should not be dethroned. We, in this enlightened period, should not lose our equilibrium thereby."

He believes in the conservation of races, and this leads him to describe, in a burst of eloquence, the jim-crow heaven and hell:

"I now plead, in thunder tones, for the conservation of the races—for the genus homo, man, ourselves. The line of demarkation between the races should be, must be, written in box-car letters, of flaming fire, warning the earth and its sister spheres, sweeping up 'mid the circling glories of halcyon heaven and extending down to the mudsills of remorseful, unquenchable hell."

As to miscegenation "no white person this side of putrid passion and perfidy's perdition" can do anything but "hit it in the face" as soon as mentioned. Colonel Potts Holt says if God had "intended in man all the iridescent hues of the rainbow" he would have been made them that way originally.

He says if you don't listen to him this fair land will run red with rivers of blood. He says if you don't agree with him you produce "pandemonium for the real." (We do not quite understand what that is, but we echo his conclusion —"from such a kismet may Heaven deliver us.") He says how any man of common decency "from Maine to California, or elsewhere, can sit still for a moment knowing there is a law on the statute books of his country permitting —suggesting that his daughter (if he is a white man) marry a Negro, Japanese or Chinese, or other of the darker color" is beyond the power of a J. Potts Holt to contemplate much less comprehend. Such a man is a "blasting, blithering, blistering brute."

We regret that space forbids our giving more of the essay. Should the colonel contribute further to our moral uplift we shall be glad to share him with our readers again.

THE "SACRED" CALF

The Houston, Texas, Chronicle attacks the State peonage laws and then goes on to comment on the fact that property is more highly valued in Texas than human life.

"The ownership of a hog is sacred, the property rights in chickens or ducks or old clothes or a boiled ham are sacred things. Property must not be trespassed upon, but life, that is a different thing.

"The most noted feud in Harris county, one that has caused the death of three men and the wounding of a fourth, bids fair to come to an inglorious end, not by the punishment of anybody for taking or attempting to take human life, but by the finding of one of the principals in the possession of a stolen and slaughtered calf.

"Tragedy after tragedy might occur and the quick bail process let the killers loose to kill again, but when one of the feudists laid felonious fingers upon a calf and was caught in flagrant delictu, that was a different story.

"Texas must face the problem of a revision of the entire penal code, or, at least, a change in enforcement methods. It is not enough to improve the conditions in the penitentiaries. The laws that send men there should be improved, and the very wisest and ripest and most humane and enlightened judgment invoked to make the punishment fit the crime. The punishment should not be so severe as to destroy the criminal in trivial matters and so uncertain as to be ridiculous and negligible in offenses that are really serious and involve the shedding of human blood."

¶ There was an attempt, fortunately unsuccessfully, to forbid colored men in Richmond the use of the City Auditorium. At one time the city attorney seems to have decided that to share the auditorium would be to violate the segregation ordinance. "This is a deplorable legal mess," observes the Richmond Leader. "The Negroes are taxpayers; they have as much right to assemble in the auditorium as to meet in the Capitol Square. We are not disposed to criticize the legal process by which the city attorney reached this remarkable conclusion, but we do not hesitate to say that if he is correct in his findings, the sooner the Vonderlehr ordinance is amended the better for Richmond, and the better for that ordinance. The colored people of this city have rights that the white people cannot afford to withhold."

¶ "Segregation in Jim Crow cars, segregation in public places, segregation on certain streets in cities. What next?" asks the Charlotte (N. C.) Star of Zion, of the A. M. E. Z. Church. "It does appear that Hon. J. M. Dickinson is not far ahead of the times when he suggests segregation in a country under the protection of the United States. Now here are some more questions. Will the Negroes segregated in the city be granted the right of self-government—can they send a Negro member from their Negro ward to the city council? Will the Negro State suggested by the Secretary of War have a Negro State government with Negro representation in Congress?"

THE N. A. A. C. P.

We give some of the articles and by-laws of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which, as we have noted, was incorporated in June.

From the Articles of Incorporation.

We, the undersigned, being of full age and desirous of associating ourselves together for the purpose herein below specified, pursuant to and in conformity with the Acts of the Legislature of the State of New York relating to membership corporations, do hereby certify and declare that we are of full age and two-thirds of us citizens and residents of the United States and residents of the State of New York, and further as follows:

That the principal objects for which the corporation is formed are voluntarily to promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States; to advance the interests of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law.

To ascertain and publish all facts bearing upon these subjects and to take any lawful action thereon; together with any and all things which may lawfully be done by a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for the further advancement of these objects.

To take, receive, hold, convey, mortgage or assign all such real estate and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of the corporation.

The corporate name by which the corporation shall be known is NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

The territory in which the operations of the corporation are principally to be conducted shall be the United States of America.

The principal office of the corporation and the center of its operations shall be in the City, County and State of New York, but the directors may establish branch or auxiliary offices elsewhere in the United States for the purpose of carrying on the work of the corporation, each to be managed by its local organization under such powers as lawfully may be prescribed in the by-laws of the corporation.

The principal office of the corporation shall be in the Borough of Manhattan, in the City, County and State of New York.

The number of directors of the corporation shall be thirty.

The names of the persons to be directors of the corporation until its first annual meeting are as follows:

Mr. Moorfield Storey, Mr. John E. Milholland, Bishop Alexander Walters, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mr. Walter E. Sachs, Dr. William E. B. DuBois, Mary White Ovington, Rev. William H. Brooks, Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, Mr. Thomas Ewing, Jr., Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Florence R. Keyser, Mr. P. Kennaday, Mrs. Frances R. Keyser, Mrs. Mary D. MacLean, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Mr. Charles Edward Russell, Prof. Joel E. Spingarn, Miss Lillian D. Wald, Mr. William English Walling, Dr. Owen M. Waller, Mr. W. I. Bulkley, Mr. Albert E. Pillsbury, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Dr. Charles E. Bentley, Dr. Noah F. Mossell, Dr. William A. Sinclair, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Rev. J. Milton Waldron.

The annual meeting of the corporation shall be held on the first Monday of January in each year.

In Testimony Whereof, we have made and signed this certificate in duplicate and have hereunto set our hands and affixed our respective seals this 25th day of May, 1911.

W. E. B. DuBois
John Haynes Holmes
Oswald Garrison Villard
Walter E. Sachs
Mary White Ovington

From the By-Laws.

Article I.

The corporation shall consist of the original incorporators and such persons as may accept membership in writing with the approval of the Directors, under and in accordance with these by-laws, and shall annually pay in advance such membership fee as may be fixed from time to time by the Directors.

Article II.

At the first meeting of the corporation, held in January, 1912, there shall be elected and organized a Board of thirty Directors, ten of whom shall be elected for one year, ten for two years and ten for three years, and at each annual meeting thereafter ten Directors shall be elected for three years. The Board of

Directors shall administer the business and affairs of the corporation.

Local organizations may be formed under authority of the Board of Directors, each to be known as the (name of city or town) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, under such constitution, as the Board of Directors may approve.

Article III.

At the first meeting of the Board of Directors, and annually thereafter at its first meeting following the annual meeting of the corporation, officers of the corporation shall be elected from the Board as follows: A President, two or more Vice-presidents, a Chairman of the Board, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

All the officers shall perform such duties as usually pertain to their respective offices, or as may be assigned to them from time to time by the Board. The Board may also appoint a Director of Publicity and Research, and such other officers as it may from time to time determine consistently with these by-laws, for such terms and with such powers, duties and compensation as it may determine. The Board may fill vacancies in any office and may remove any officer appointed to it.

No salary or compensation shall be due or payable to any officer except as prescribed by the by-laws or by vote of the Board. No purchase, sale, mortgage or lease of real property shall be made by the corporation unless by vote of or after written approval by two-thirds of the whole number of Directors in office.

The Board may from time to time elect such number as it sees fit of persons in sympathy with the purposes of the corporations, but who shall have no financial or other responsibility for the conduct of its work, as a General Advisory Committee, of which the officers of the local conferences shall be ex-officio members.

Article IV.

The annual meeting of the corporation for the election of Directors and any other lawful business shall be held at such place and hour as the Board may determine. Notice by mail of such meetings and of all nominations for Directors shall be given by the Secretary to each member not less than ten days before the meeting. The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held immediately upon the adjournment of such meeting.

At the annual meeting of the corporation the Board shall present a report, verified by the Secretary and Treasurer, showing the whole property of the corporation, where situated and where and how invested; the property acquired during the year, and the manner of acquisition; the amount expended during the year and the objects or persons to or for which such expenditure has been made; the names and residences of new members, and any other information that the Board may require. Such reports shall be filed, and an abstract thereof entered in the records of the meeting.

¶ As soon as the news of the barbarous lynching at Coatesville reached the Association telegrams were sent to the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Chief of the State Constabulary and the Mayor of Coatesville, urging the instant and relentless prosecution of the guilty parties. The chief burgess of Coatesville at once sent the following letter:

"In answer to your telegram just received we are certainly using every effort to bring the perpetrators of the outrageous act of burning a human being while still alive. It is true that we have a pretty good idea of the identity of a few of the ringleaders in the lynching party, yet when you go into a court you must be fortified with positive proof of their participation. Much has been published in the daily papers that is ridiculously untrue. You will bear in mind that we could not conceive that it would be possible to find fifteen or twenty people who could be found that had the nerve to commit the act (for there was not more than twenty and they mostly young men and the leader not over eighteen, who composed the mob that done the lynching); notwithstanding what may be said by those outside it will develop that the guilty ones will be found and punished to the full extent of the law; if there has been an error committed it was not that our officials in any way condoned the act. We are striving to redeem ourselves, which the future will prove.

"Yours,

"JESSE SHALLCROSS
"Chief Burgess.

"P. S.—Rum was the cause of the murder."

¶ The following letter accompanied a recent money gift:

Chestnut Hill School,

Dear Mr. Garrison:

We have some money for the colored people. All the children in our class have given a little bit. We want to have it shared between them all.

We think that the colored people are very badly treated, and we want them to be treated in a better way.

Miss Elizabeth found a china bunny, and every morning we passed the bunny down the aisle and we got four dollars.

From all the children in our class,

HELEN PAGE

EDITORIAL

TRIUMPH.

LET the eagle scream! Again the burden of upholding the best traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization has fallen on the sturdy shoulders of the American republic. Once more a howling mob of the best citizens in a foremost State of the Union has vindicated the self-evident superiority of the white race. The case was perfectly clear; it was not that murder had been done, for we Americans are not squeamish at mere murder. Off and on we do more of that kind of thing than most folk. Moreover, there was not much of a murder—only the crazed act of a drunken man quite unpremeditated. The point is he was black.

Blackness must be punished. Blackness is the crime of crimes, as the opera-bouffe senator-elect from Mississippi has amply proven. Why is it a crime? Because it threatens white supremacy. A black might—why, civilization might be black! It is therefore necessary, as every white scoundrel in the nation knows, to let slip no opportunity of punishing this crime of crimes. Of course, if possible, the pretext should be great and overwhelming—some awful stunning crime, made even more horrible by reporters' imaginations. Failing this, mere murder, arson, barn burning or impudence may do; indeed, must do.

Once the pretext given, then let loose the majesty of American culture. It must warm the hearts of every true son of the republic to read how the brawn and sinew of Coatesville rallied to the great and glorious deed. It deserves a poem; think of the hoary farmers, toilworn with the light of a holy purpose in their eyes and pitchforks in their hands. "The churches were nearly deserted," say the papers. Splendid! Was it not fitting that Coatesville religion should lend its deacons and Sunday-school superintendents to the holy crusade? Did they not choose a noble day? Sunday, the festival of the risen Prince of Peace.

Ah, the splendor of that Sunday night dance. The flames beat and curled against the moonlit sky. The church bells chimed. The scorched and crooked thing, self-wounded and chained to his cot, crawled to the edge of the ash with a stifled groan, but the brave and sturdy farmers pricked him back with the bloody pitchforks until the deed was done.

Let the eagle scream!

Civilization is again safe.

"Oh, say, can you see by the dawn's early light" that soap box of blackened bones and dust, standing in the dew and sunlight on the King's highway to the City of Brotherly Love, while, as the press reports, "all day long, not only from Coatesville, but from all Chester County, and even from Philadelphia, people walked and drove out to the scene of the burning. Men and women poked the ashes and a shout of glee would signalize the finding of a blackened tooth or mere portions of unrecognizable bones. By noon the black heap had been leveled and only the scorched ground was left to tell what had happened there."

Some foolish people talk of punishing the heroic mob, and the Governor of Pennsylvania seems to be real provoked. We hasten to assure our readers that nothing will be done. There may be a few formal arrests, but the men will be promptly released by the mob sitting as jury—perhaps even as judge.

America knows her true heroes.

Again, let the eagle scream!

But let every black American gird up his loins. The great day is coming. We have crawled and pleaded for justice and we have been cheerfully spit upon and murdered and burned. We will not endure it forever. If we are to die, in God's name let us perish like men and not like bales of hay.

THE WORLD IN COUNCIL.

THE greatest event of the twentieth century so far was the First Universal Races Congress. It was more significant than the Russian-Japanese war, the Hague Conference or the rise of Socialism. It was significant not on account of the size of its meetings, well attended as they were; not on account of the weight of its utterances, weighty as they were; not on account of the publicity it received or the influence it spread.

The Universal Races Congress was great because it marked the first time in the history of mankind when a world congress dared openly and explicitly to take its stand on the platform of human equality—the essential divinity of man.

For the first time in history the representatives of a majority of all the nations of the earth met on a frankly equal footing to discuss their relations to each other, and the ways and means of breaking down the absurd and deadly differences that make men hate and despise each other simply because they do not look and think and act alike.

Other world congresses there have been, and they have not dared to attack this problem openly and honestly. The Church has repeatedly dodged and temporized with race prejudice. The State has openly used it for conquest, murder and oppression. Great reform movements like the Peace and Labor movement have again and again refused to see in race prejudice their greatest obstacle, their subtlest and deadliest enemy.

Here at last is a full fair frontal attack on the nastiest modern survival of ancient barbarism. It was a great day for humanity. It was a great day even in the light of the expected criticisms that the Congress accomplished nothing. It accomplished wonders. It met successfully in peace and concord and yet with unusual freedom of speech. It secured the co-operation of many of the leading people of the world and induced them to stand openly on its platform not simply of "Peace," but of "Good Will Toward Men." Finally it took steps toward the perfection of a world organization for interracial concord, investigation and co-operation.

Every word uttered, every step taken by this Congress is in direct opposition to the dominant philosophy of race hatred, suppression and lynching current in the United States. The sooner sane and honest Americans realize that the present policy of America toward the Negro race is directly contrary to Christian, Mohammedan and Buddhist ethics, and is a disintegrating and degrading force which the best thought and conscience of the world condemns, the sooner will such people join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and fight for true liberty and decency.

Can anyone doubt the ripeness of the time? Awake, put on thy strength, O Zion!

PROMOTION OF PREJUDICE.

COMPLACENT people sit before race prejudice with folded hands. How unfortunate, they say, but how unchangeable! Then they select the appropriate adverbs "always" and "never" to show the impossibility of great change in such human attitudes within any reasonable time.

The trouble with such people is that they have no idea of the active campaign carried on quietly in this country to foment race strife and increase race prejudice in quarters where they would seldom, if ever, appear.

We select this week a single instance of this: There is in Massachusetts a sleepy, charming old town called Newburyport. It has a half dozen or so quiet colored folk. It also has a paper called the Herald. There is in Nashville, Tenn., a paper called the Nashville Tennessean and American. These two papers recently had the following *editorials—editorials*, not articles, mind you:

(Tennessean-American, July 28, 1911.)

THE NEGRO VOTE AN ANNOYING FACTOR.

It is a significant fact that 85 per cent. of the Negroes in the Texas election on the prohibition

amendment to the constitution voted against the proposition, and, when it is considered that the amendment was defeated by only about 5,000 votes out of a total number cast exceeding 450,000 it will be keenly appreciated how annoying it is for such a factor to hold the balance of power in deciding such a grave question.

Equally as large a per cent. of the Negroes in Tennessee are opposed to the laws regulating and restricting the sale of liquors. It has been the boast that 85 per cent. of them oppose prohibition.

Under normal conditions the Negroes are Republican, but when it comes to political contests which imperil or threaten the liquor traffic the Negroes, like the liquor people, become non-partisan, and vote with the party or faction advocating the traffic. A large majority of them favor the open saloon. They like whisky, and they want it sold where they may purchase it without the least restraint.

(Newburyport Herald, August 7, 1911.)

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Two things must be noted about this remarkable coincidence in the working of the minds of a country editor in Massachusetts and a city editor in Tennessee:

(1) The alleged facts as to the Negro vote in Texas and Tennessee are misstatements of the truth, if not deliberate lies. Negroes in both States have supported prohibition in large numbers repeatedly and it is ridiculously untrue that 85 per cent. voted for liquor.

(2) This is not the first time that identical *editorials* have appeared in Southern, Western and New England papers on the Negro problem. The Newburyport Herald has had these remarkable inspirations repeatedly.

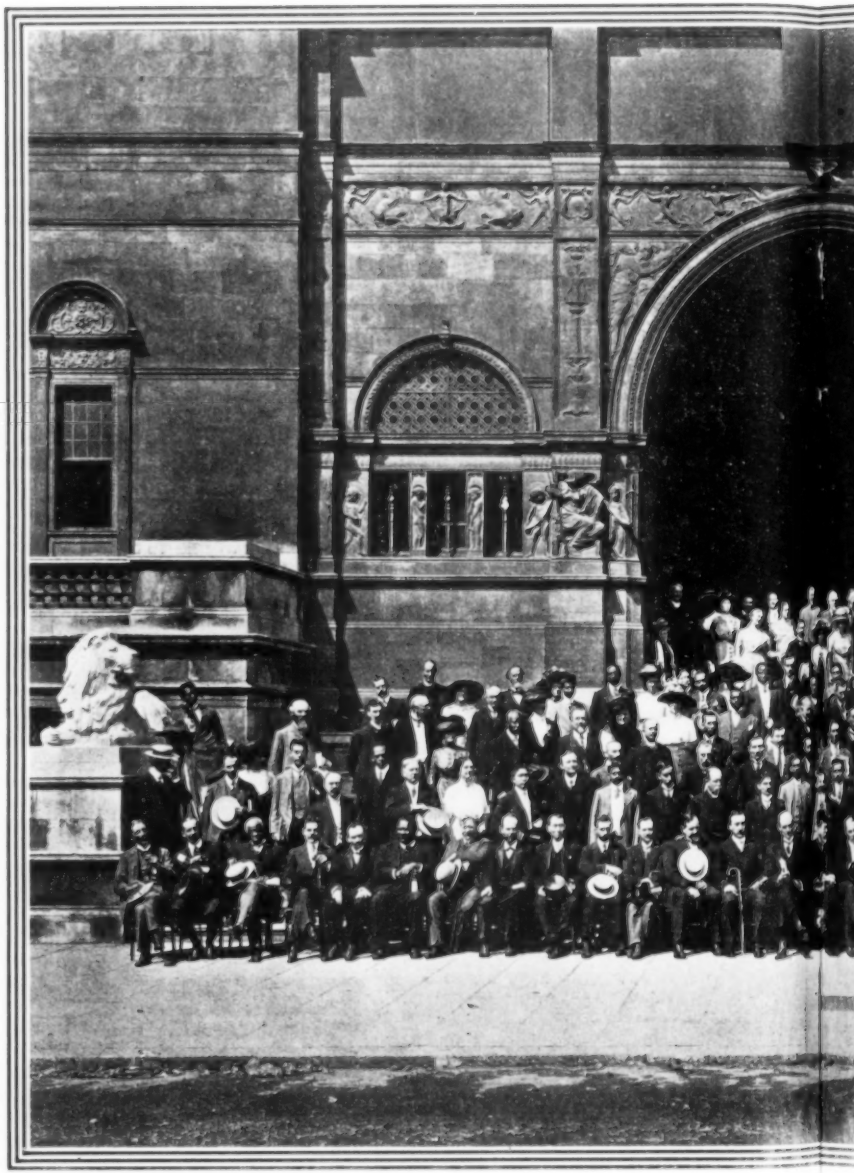
What does this mean?

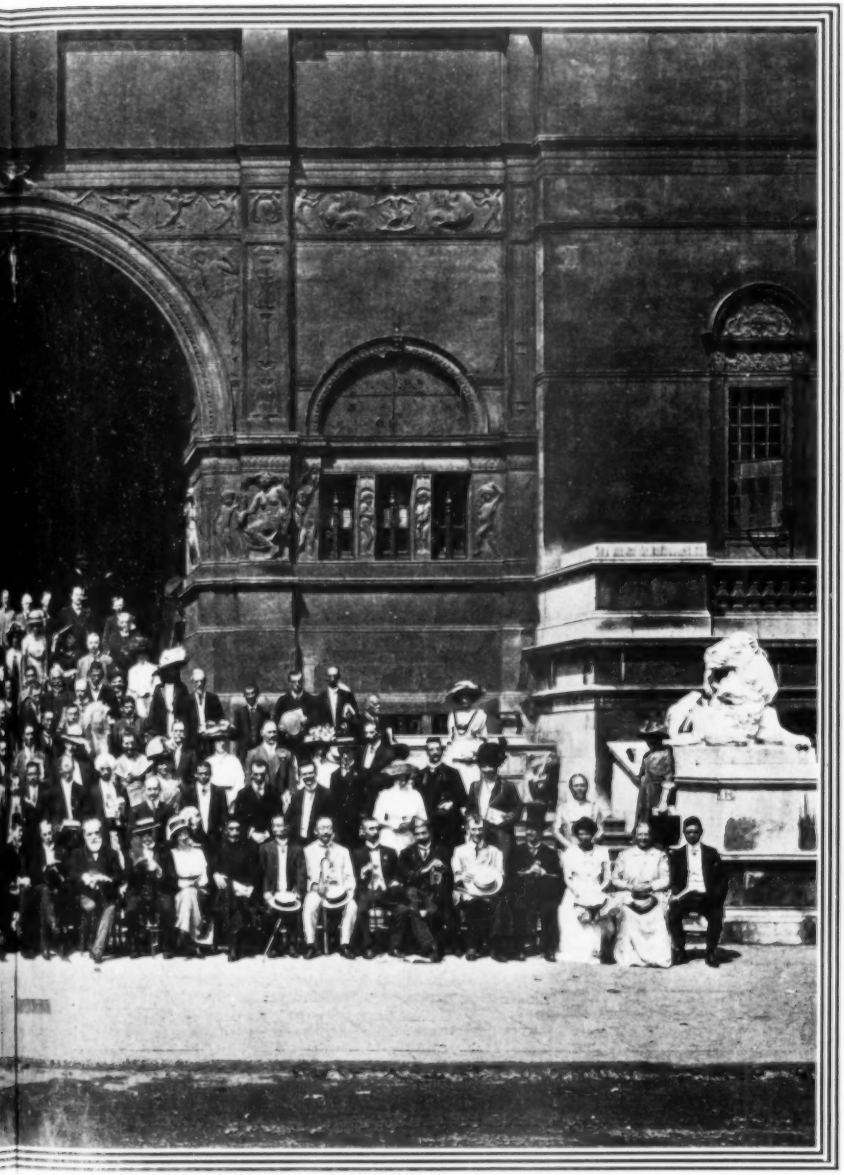
It means that the soul of New England and the Middle West is being progressively poisoned and aroused on race matters by matter manufactured by Negro haters in the South and then New England is calmly quoted to the South as coming around to their point of view.

Who is doing this philanthropic work? Who is paying for it? Is it our patriotic duty to sit and sleep while this deviltry is hatching?

"SOCIAL EQUALITY."

A COLORED physician of Kansas City has made a speech at a large meeting in Denver in which he protests that he does not want "social equality." It happens, however, that social equality is precisely what this gentleman does want and we can prove it; if our readers will turn to the March number of THE CRISIS they will learn that this same physician got on a Pullman car to ride into Texas and was ejected. He protested vigorously, as he ought to have done, and brought suit. Now, riding on a Pullman car is social equality and there is no use in pretending that it is not. Equal civil rights are impossible without social equality. Equal political rights are impossible without social equality. When American Negroes recently sent a protest to England complaining of civil and political degradation what did the South retort? Practically all the Southern white papers said this is "demanding social equality;" and it was. Social equality is simply the right to be treated as a gentleman when one is among gentlemen and acts like a gentleman. No person who does not demand such treatment is fit for the society of gentlemen. Of course, what the speaker meant to say was that he had no desire to force his company on people unnecessarily if they objected to him, but such a right does not imply "equality" but "superiority," and this speaker knows or ought to know that every time a black man says publicly that he is willing to be treated as a social pariah, he is forging the chains of his social slavery. Let intelligent black men stop this sort of talk. If they are afraid to demand their rights as men, they can, at least, preserve dignified silence.





Some of the Delegates to the First Universal Races Congress Gathered at the Entrance to London University.

THE RACES CONGRESS

By Our Own Correspondent

I.—What Was the Races Congress?

Several years ago at Eisenach, Germany, Dr. Felix Adler suggested a congress of the races of the world. No attempt was made to follow up this idea for several years; then the Ethical Culture Society permitted one of its best organizers, Gustave Spiller, to devote

W. E. B. DU BOIS
"The American Negro"

two years to the organizing of such a congress. It was planned to hold the congress in the summer of 1911. Extraordinary difficulties faced the organizer. He had no funds; he had no special clientele to appeal to, and he was embarking upon what large numbers of practical people thought a fanciful, if not an impossible, attempt. Then, too, other people feared and opposed it for political and social reasons. Nevertheless, Mr. Spiller went to work.

Within two years he succeeded in enlisting the support of no less than fifty countries, over thirty presidents of parliaments, the majority of the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the delegates to the Second Hague Conference, twelve British governors and eight British premiers, over forty colonial bishops, some hundred and thirty professors of international law, the leading anthropologists and sociologists, the officers and the majority of the council of the Interparliamentary Union, and other distinguished personages. As writers of papers, Mr. Spiller secured representatives from over twenty civilizations, and every paper referring to a particular people was prepared by some one of high standing belonging to that people.

As president of the congress, the Right Honorable Lord Weardale, a well-known figure in the World's Peace movement, was secured. Among the vice-presidents was the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Balfour, leader of the opposition, Viscount Morley of Blackburn, the speaker of the House of Commons, the Archbishop of York, and others. The general committee included some of the greatest names of the world. On Wednesday, July 26, when Lord Weardale opened the first session of the Congress, he looked into the faces of a thousand people representing fifty different races.

II.—The Object of the Congress.

What after all was the object of assembling a congress of this character? To many people it seemed a visionary scheme; what practical outcome could there be? The Executive Committee stated the purpose of the Congress succinctly: "The object of the Congress will be to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called colored peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier cooperation." Lord Weardale in his introduction to the volume of papers has enlarged upon this idea: "To those who regard the furtherance of international good will and peace as the highest of all human interests, the occasion of the First Universal Races Congress opens a vista of almost boundless promise.

"No impartial student of history can deny that in the case of nearly all re-

DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN
"The American Indian"

PROF. EARL E. FINCH
"The Racial Effects of Miscegenation"

corded wars, whatever the ostensible reasons assigned, the underlying cause of conflict has been the existence of race antipathies—using the word race in its broad and popular acceptation—which particular circumstances, often in themselves of trivial moment, have fanned into flame.

"In the earliest times it took the form of one race attempting to subjugate and indeed enslave another; but even in modern wars, while questions of frontier, the ambitions of rulers, or the rivalries of commercial policies, may have provoked the actual crisis, it will be found, in almost every instance, that the pre-existence of social and racial enmity has in reality determined the breach which particular incidents had merely precipitated.

"As civilization progresses and the western world more fully recognizes its ethical responsibilities, it may be hoped that such influences will become an ever diminishing force; but the modern conscience has to-day, in addition, other and quite new problems to solve in face of the startling and sudden appearance of new factors in the Eastern Hemisphere.

"In less than twenty years we have witnessed the most remarkable awakening of nations long regarded as sunk in such depths of somnolence as to be only interesting to the western world because they presented a wide and prolific field for commercial rivalries, often greedy, cruel, and fraught with bloodshed in their prosecution, but which otherwise were an almost negligible quantity in international concerns.

"How great is the change in the lifetime of a single generation, when, to select two instances alone, we contemplate the most remarkable rise of the power of the Empire of Japan, the precursor, it would seem, of a similar revival of the activities and highly developed qualities of the population of the great Empire of China!

"Nearer and nearer we see approaching the day when the caste population of the East will assert their claim to meet on terms of equality the nations of the West, when the free institutions and the organized forces of the one hemisphere will have their counterbalance in the other, when their mental outlook and their social aims will be in principle identical; when, in short, the color prejudice will have vanished and the so-called white races and the so-called colored races shall no longer merely meet in the glowing periods of missionary exposition, but, in very fact, regard one another as in truth men and brothers.

"Are we ready for this change? Have we duly considered all that it signifies, and have we tutored our minds and shaped our policy with a view of successfully meeting the coming flood? It is in order to discuss this question of such supreme importance that the First Universal Races Congress is being held."

III.—The Program of the Congress.

The program, as laid down, sought first to take up fundamental considerations concerning the meaning of race. Then there followed certain general matters of racial progress like government, political conditions, language, religion and miscegenation. The third session began with the special racial problems in China, Japan, Turkey, Persia, India, Egypt, Haiti, etc. Then the matter of interracial contact was spoken of: first, the economic side, and then the bonds of science, art and technique. The fifth session turned to the question of the social conscience in relation to racial questions, and took up the problems of the Jew, and of the Negro in Africa and America,

HON. G. K. GOKHALE
"East and West in India"

WU TING-FANG
"Conditions of Progress in China"

and also the question of indentured labor and drink. The last two sessions were given up to positive suggestions for permitting interracial friendliness.

The really astounding thing about this program was the amount of agreement and sympathy among papers from widely different sources. Seldom has there been an international congress where there was so much unity in the underlying thought and where the enthusiasm for the central idea was so manifest and so well expressed. Of course in the very multiplicity of the problems, and the large number of speakers, there were manifest disadvantages; practically all the speakers were limited to seven minutes, and yet there must have been at least 150 speakers. Then, too, the speeches were in different languages, including a good deal of broken English. The acoustics of the hall were not good and the heat was intense. Under such conditions it would have been natural to have had a large number of people in bad temper and a great many misunderstandings. This, however, was not so, and every one attending the sessions came away with a distinct feeling of uplift and hope.

IV.—The Men Who Were There.

The personnel of the Congress was marvelous. First, there was the natural difference in color, from the jet black of General Légitime, of Haiti, to the blond Germans and Norwegians. The infiltration of Negro blood was particularly noticeable; the two Egyptian Beys were evidently negroid, the Portuguese was without a doubt a mulatto, and the Persian was dark enough to have trouble in the South. Next came the difference in language: English, French, German and Italian were heard and used continually in speeches, in discussion and in conversation. I remember at one dinner party at the beautiful home of Felix Moscheles there were eight people present and they were talking four languages nearly all the time. After all this came the difference of dress and the many other subtle differences of civilizations; the turban, the fez, the ceremonies of greeting, all gave a peculiar picturesqueness to the assembly.

The personalities which made the most impression upon me were: Mr. Spiller, the creator of the Congress, the indefatigable worker, unselfish and devoted; Dr. Seal, the Indian scholar, tall and brown, with a flowing white beard, full of simple but wholesome enthusiasm; Watanabe, the Japanese parliamentarian, a sweet-tempered scholar; Rubasana, the only Negro member of the Cape Colony Parliament; Hadji Mirza Yahya, the leader of the Persian revolutionists; General Légitime, of Haiti, and his interesting daughter; the Secretary of State of Liberia. Among the most forceful speakers were the Englishmen Robertson and Hobson, and Mrs. Annie Besant. In the audience at various times were many distinguished persons: Prince Kropotkin, of Russia; Schreiner, of South Africa; Finot, of France; the Prince di Cassano; Israel Zangwill, who was listened to with great attention. Wilberforce University sent four popular persons—President Scarborough, Mr. Finch and Chaplain and Mrs. Steward. To all these one must add a large part of learned and philanthropic London, as, for instance, the Ranee of Sarawak, who is the daughter-in-law of Rajah Brooke; Frederic Harrison, Sir Percy Bunting, since deceased; Travers Buxton, and others.

V.—Some of the Papers.

A résumé of several of the more important papers follows:

DR. FELIX VON LUSCHAN, Germany.—By what criterion can we distinguish between "savage races" and "civilized races?" Color? Beauty? Cleanliness? Decency? Ability to write? Power of abstract reflection? Science is abandoning these points of view and recognizes the monogenetic origin of humanity. White races and black races, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic—all of them come from the same stock. Circumstances, the environment, have caused some to advance more rapidly than others. When this is recognized we may distinguish three principal varieties: The ancient Indo-European race, the African race and the Asiatic race of the East, diverging from each other in the course of thousands of years, but all of the same stock, and intermarrying in all directions. There has always, and everywhere, been a constant mingling in consequence of invasions, conquest, commercial relations, etc. That is often a condition of progress; England, France and Germany are remarkable for the variety of their racial elements. Nevertheless, the barriers between races tend to persist, although there is an increasing mutual sympathy as the various races come to know each other.

G. SPILLER, England.—Many races are, at the present time, treated, or rather maltreated, as inferior races. Are there any sound arguments in favor of this supposed inferiority? The common standard provided by university diplomas shows almost all races, even the majority of those which are regarded as inferior, represented successfully in the universities of Europe and America. Equal in intellectual capacity, these races have proved by their intrepidity, activity and ingeniousness in war, hunting, cultivation of the soil and commerce that they are not inferior to the others in the spirit of initiative. In regard to morality the sacred books of the East and other documents are penetrated by the most profound ethical sentiment; on the practical side, the so-called savages often display more real humanity than civilized people; and as to beauty, it is a question of conventional standards: a well-developed Japanese or Haitian is as handsome as a European. The differences between races are, therefore, mere differences of physical characteristics. It is only the social and historical element that transforms man into a civilized being.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON, England.—All conquering races are agreed, as a rule, in refusing autonomy to the conquered races. This autonomy, however, is the initial condition of an advanced social organism and of intellectual and moral progress. It is only after a long and painful apprenticeship that European nations have attained autonomy. Why not admit that it may be the same with the so-called backward peoples?

PROFESSOR CHARLES S. MYERS, England.—The author submits the following propositions: (1) That the mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities. (2) That such differences between them as exist are the result of differences in environment and in individual variability. (3) That the relation between the organism and its environment (considered in its broadest sense) is the ultimate cause of variation, bodily and mental. (4) That, this being admitted, the possibility of the progressive development of all primitive peoples must be conceded, if only the environment can be appropriately changed.

PROFESSOR LIONEL W. LYDE, England.—We are in a position to say that primitive man was dark skinned, and that he, as he began to make his way northward, began to bleach, thus creating a semi-primitive yellow type. This yellow man, exposed to conditions of cold and moisture, might become entirely white. The human skin develops pigment to protect itself against a strong sun; and the quantity of pigment in the skin varies with the intensity of the sun. It is therefore the men who live in the hottest and least-shaded parts of the world—that is to say, in the African savana—that we find the blackest skin. The white peoples, on the contrary, are confined to a region where the humidity of the atmosphere forms a screen against the rays of the sun. Finally, between the Negro and the white is the yellow man, who is a product of desiccating grasslands with seasonal extremes of temperature.

PROFESSOR EARL FINCH, United States.—Race crossing has furnished so high a percentage of the population of the world that the character of the product is of the greatest social importance. Some sociologists hold that the mixture of races has always had, and must have, disastrous consequences; others have a diametrically opposite opinion. The facts support the first of these opinions. The crossing of an indigenous stock with a civilized race often gives rise to a progeny superior in fertility and vitality to the indigenous race itself. When the latter is left to itself it often declines and disappears. The Maoris, Polynesians and Indo-Americans are convincing examples of this. But if the race mixes with Europeans it displays an increased fertility, as has been shown by many experiences, especially in the case of the Pitcairn Islands. If the crossing of races generally produces an inferior population from the moral point of view, it is because prejudice and the withholding of legal and social sanction restricts these

unions, formed under unfavorable conditions, to the inferior classes. In the rare cases in which regular unions have been contracted between whites and natives the results have been excellent.

MOHAMMED SOUROUR BEY, Egypt.—An essentially agricultural country on account of its fertility, Egypt has only two industries—the cultivation of rice and of sugar. But its real wealth consists in its cultivation of cotton. The nation has no part either in the making or the execution of laws. The reforms that it claims are: A real share in the government, a reorganization of justice, gratuitous and obligatory education, the creation of agricultural and industrial unions to improve the condition of the fellah, the founding of institutions of public assistance and the putting into force of sanitary measures.

MOHAMMED SOUROUR BEY
"Egypt"

GENERAL LEGITIME
"Haiti"

GENERAL LEGITIME, Haiti.—In possession of a fertile soil and an ideal climate, the Haitians have, nevertheless, a very imperfect social organization. Although schools have been multiplied in Haiti, and many Haitians have completed their studies with success in Europe, and although some efforts have been made to improve the routes of communication and the productiveness of the country had been greatly increased, its economic activity is so imperfectly organized that the population, devoid of method, direction or capital, is discouraged and emigrates. Enduring, active, plastic, having immense natural wealth in his country, the Haitian is, if his government gives him the opportunity, as capable as any other man of attaining a high degree of prosperity and civilization.

JOHN A. HOBSON, England.—The character of commerce has changed in our time. Industry having increased its production as a result of the invention of machinery, it becomes necessary to get rid of the surplus of manufactured products, and there is a struggle between the various nations to gain possession of the markets. Further, the importance of commercial relations with primitive peoples has passed from importation to exportation. And as persuasion was necessary to induce these peoples to take our products, and as, in order to have new needs, they had to be "civilized," commerce sought to exercise a pacific and civilizing influence. Nevertheless, the wish to secure or reserve to themselves new markets has dragged modern States into a policy of conquest and colonization in an aggressive form. That seems to be a mistake. To establish profitable commercial relations with a people it is useless to take possession of it. Besides the expense of conquest and military occupation, the unfriendliness of the conquered people will give a very poor guarantee of the development of commerce. The most profitable commerce for Europeans is that with countries into which the commodities and arts of Europe have been introduced under conditions of peace and mutual sympathy.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER, United States.—It is urgently necessary for us to have a clearer conception of the ideal to be realized in international relations; for if we make incessant and ruinous preparations for a possible war, and find ourselves in a blind alley from which there is no escape, we owe it to a false military ideal—a false ideal of national prestige, material growth, etc. What principle shall we put in its place? The appeal to sentiment and the progress of democracy are not in themselves a safeguard against war. It is not peace itself that we must keep in view, but the object to be secured by peace. The ideal prin-

ciple of international relations consists in the progressive organization of these relations between peoples and races. This organization involves two postulates: (1) To attain the most extreme

J. TENGO JABAVU
"Native Races of South Africa"

differentiation of types of culture, the maximum of variety and richness in the expression of human faculties. The peace and progress of the world will depend on the formation of a cultivated class of all civilized peoples. (2) This exchange between different types of culture will serve to bring to light the weak points in each, and may lead to their improvement and healing. In accordance with this principle two practical results seem desirable: The first is that civilized nations should treat backward races with more humanity and intelligence, for the benefit of those races, and, in the long run, for the sake of the whole of mankind. The second is that colonial administrators should make a sympathetic study of the customs, manners, law and religion of the peoples to whom they are supposed to bring civilization.

Sir Charles Bruce, England.—The history of civilization passes through three great successive phases: Extermination, servitude and amalgamation. Thus, in the West, the conquering and dominating conception of Athens and of Rome was ruined by the revolt of the northern barbarians; the amalgamation took place under the guidance of Christianity. In the same way the Jews, after the periods of conquest and subjection, tend everywhere to be assimilated to the different peoples. Now, this idea which increasingly controls the relations of the western races to each other, should also control their relations with the peoples of the East. In this, however, the West has a new prejudice—that of color—to overcome. England was one of the first to apply this policy of amalgamation, in India. In regard to the yellow peoples Europe is, after a period of brutality, attaining to a conception of the same kind; the progress of Japan has had a good deal to do with this transformation. As to the blacks, they have long been the instruments of the cupidity, cruelty and luxury of the white; but their intelligence, deliberately neglected for ages, needs only to be awakened.

The late Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., England.—Slavery, which has been officially abolished, tends to revive in disguised forms: "Forced labor" (unpaid, or paid, at less than the normal rate) for public works; porterage in Africa; forced labor in the form of a rubber tax in the Congo basin. We find the same systems in other parts of the world for the purpose of increasing the production of minerals, cocoa and cotton; by imposing labor either on the natives, or on prisoners, or on Chinese or Hindoo immigrants. Public opinion in many countries is protesting against these practices, which seem to be bound up with the system of large concessions. England and France have made praiseworthy efforts to suppress them.

Sir Harry Johnston, England.—The Negro type is that which is most markedly set off from the white or Caucasian subspecies. Hence, no doubt, a certain repugnance felt in regard to races that are impregnated with Negro blood, such as the Hindoos, Moors and even the Jews. The negroid element is, nevertheless, very widespread; it is found, more or less ancient and more or less attenuated, in southern Italy, southern France, Spain and even Great Britain. The physical difference from the white is merely a question of taste. On the other hand, the Negro has a very lively feeling for music and the plastic arts, a great power of resisting disease, a high fertility and considerable talent. The Negro race has produced men of great ability in all departments.

BRAJENDRANATH SEAL
"Meaning of Race, Tribe and Nation"

J. Tengo Jabavu, South Africa.—The Bantu, a race living in the extreme south of Africa, number about six million souls. They were a robust, healthy, virile people, with advanced institutions; they had a high moral level; they were temperate and religious. But they lived a nomadic life and had no written language. What have the whites done for them? Very little. The mining system leaves much to be desired. They have few or no political rights and no organized education. The Christian missions themselves have, in spite of their good intentions, aimed chiefly at attacking and destroying, instead of improving, the organization of these reputed barbarians. The solution would be to instruct these races in their maternal tongue, concentrating at first on a small number who will afterward devote themselves to teaching and guiding the others. There has been some effort made to found a college, but ten thousand pounds are still needed.

Dr. Mojola Agbebi, West Africa.—The problem is twofold. The task of Europe is to establish its political dominion and an industrial and commercial development. For the African the problem is to see what effect the contact with the whites will have on his life, modified and attached in its essential features by this contact. European colonization would only gain by a more intimate and sympathetic penetration of these races whose civilization is so different. They venerate ancestors and heroes, cultivate secret societies, practice polygamy (without grossness), as is common in Islam, and show certain superior characteristics even in their witchcraft, human sacrifices and cannibalism.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, United States.—The Negroes number about ten millions in the United States. Most of them descend from former slaves. They live at the present time under a system of theoretical liberty, but it is restricted in practice by certain legal dispositions and by custom. They are well disposed toward family life, in so far as they are enabled to enjoy it, and to education. They have churches of their own. About two hundred thousand of them are farmers, and fifty thousand are engaged in commerce and the liberal professions. Their situation is most distressing in the South, where they suffer civic incapacity, injustice in the courts of law, economic restrictions, discourtesy in public, etc. And 75 per cent. of the Negroes live in the South. One theory proposes that they should emancipate themselves by acquiring wealth, but it would seem that intellectual emancipation should proceed hand in hand with economic independence.

Dr. Jean Baptiste De Lacerda, Brazil.—During the first half of the last century, Negroes, bought in Africa by Portuguese traders, were imported into Brazil to the number of nearly two millions. Their masters, who treated them as cattle, made concubines of the female slaves, and the country was soon full of metis (half-breeds). These were treated with a certain liberality by the Portuguese, received some education, were often emancipated and had a happier time than their black ancestors. From the intellectual point of view they are often superior to their white father and black mother; in regard to physique, they are graceful and vivacious; but they have not a great power of resisting disease, and it is not always possible to put implicit faith in their loyalty and probity. They have, nevertheless, rendered notorious service to Brazil and have produced a large number of capable men. Since the proclamation of the Republic they have taken an important part in the direction of the affairs of State.

Professor J. S. Mackenzie, England.—The fundamental importance of moral education in schools is now pretty generally recognized: (1) By the judicious study of international history and literature we may foster sentiments of honesty, justice, humanity and respect for one's self and others. (2) Moral education should lead to an appreciation of the essential likeness of the various races and classes, in spite of their superficial differences. (3) It is qualities of character that form the real basis of superiority in men of nations. (4) Different peoples, different classes, different sexes, and so on, have each a distinctive type of personality, with a distinctive value of its own. (5) The identity and the comprehensive character of the human ideal are evolved in different and many forms.

Edwin D. Mead, United States.—The First Universal Races Congress might form the nucleus of a vast international federation. All the members of the Congress ought to form the following resolutions: "Each nation here represented shall organize a national society this year and hold a national congress next year; a second international congress shall be held three years from now." It is desirable that this Congress should be held in the United States in 1914, as it is the date when we shall celebrate the centennial of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

Professor N. R. d'Alfonso, Italy.—Speculative psychology teaches that the man, to whatever race he may belong, has always the same psychological possibilities. Subject from childhood to certain conditions of climate, environment and education, he can reach the highest and most complex grades of civilization. It is the action and reaction of the external world on the internal world of the mind that issues in the creation of man. Hence, if there are psychological dif-

HADJI MIRZA YAHYA
"Persia"

TONGO TAKEBE
"Japan"

ferences between races they are the outcome of the particular history of various peoples—a history that has entailed a different education. The psychological basis being the same in all men, all, from whatever part of the globe they may come, may evolve in the same way and attain the same psychic results. In the same way racial hostilities and prejudices are not due so much to organic heredity as to tradition and education. It is the place of the Universal Races Congress to recognize and spread this theory and its consequences.

VI.—The Race Problems.

When fifty races look each other in the eye, face to face, there rises a new conception of humanity and its problems. For four days these representatives of the world walked and sat and ate side by side and heard speech after speech. There were few set expository talks. Men did not explain their problems as to some third person—rather they expressed their own inner feeling at this contact of soul. Some objected to this. They said: "There are fine phrases after phrases and endless allusions to human brotherhood, but after all there is little scientific ordered explanation. We find our thoughts and sympathies aroused but unsatisfied."

This was inevitable. To explain means double knowledge: knowledge of the problem, knowledge of the world to whom the problem is being explained. Strangers, therefore, cannot easily reveal themselves to each other and the delegates to the Races Congress were largely strangers.

Yet in the continual meeting of strangers comes gradual illumination and what the formal speeches failed to do, informal intercourse accomplished to a wonderful degree. First, perhaps, the problem of racial and national integrity stepped to the fore: "We built a great wall once," said the keen Chinese representative, "to keep out the world; a wall so vast that it has been said to be the only work of man capable of being seen from the moon; now you are building a wall against us"—but in either case the clear implication was, China stands and must stand as an independent nation. So with the Turks and the Persians there was a certain frank appeal to the fair judgment of men. We are a congeries of races, said the Turks repeatedly, united in political bonds, and thus we typify the future of the world; and the Persians appealed to a great past as earnest for a greater future. Yet it was significant that while they were speaking Austria was moving all her influence to force European interference in Albania, the ex-Shah landed in Persia and the Times was publishing articles to show England's neglected interests in the Persian gulf.

Next to questions of integrity came problems of autonomy among the great subject nations of India and Egypt. How long are these to be held in leading strings? How far can people not "European" govern themselves? How dangerous has been the rise of Japan? The clear unanswerable argument of John Robertson, M.P., was but reason above foaming waters, and one felt the repression of those who talked on these subjects.

The next great question discussed, not so much directly as by implication, was that of religion. What right has one religion to discredit another and force itself on men, especially when it does not pretend to practice what it preaches? This was the repeated implication in con-

PASTOR MOJOLA AGBEBI
"The West African Problem"

versation and speech. It was a hard thing to answer in face of the tolerance of the Mohammedan and the Buddhist. Perhaps its best answer was the Races Congress itself.

After this the questions came nearer home and the color line appeared. Who and what are these black and brown men? Are they really men? And, in the same breath, is their ability due to white blood or is white blood fatal to them? One could, after all, think one's way through the political integrity of the East and the gradual freedom of India and Egypt, but could black men be free—were they worth freedom? The answer from the United States was sharp and strong and perhaps the most arresting thing in the whole Congress. If America is trying to treat civilized men as uncivilized simply on account of color what effect will this have on the world and on Africa?

Africa was to the Congress as to the world, the land of the Sphinx. It said little that was articulate, but all knew that it was the land of that new forced and exploited labor on which London and the world waxes luxurious, and that this exploitation is spread over Mexico and South America; is it not one with the economic exploitation of women and children and the mass of laborers generally?

The question of the status of women leaped continually to the front. If we speak of China, what of Chinese women? It was the women of India and child marriage that created the keenest interest, and no paper was more eagerly listened to than that which told of the up struggling of the Negro women of the United States.

On the other hand, the labor question was hardly touched in its main modern phases, although a strong, masterly argument was made to show that the economic foundations of imperialism were as weak as those of the slave barons of the South and as wicked.

On the whole the view of the race problems of the world as revealed in the Congress was strongly reassuring; but the reason of this was clear. It was because the men themselves were there. In their absence a terrible indictment against "lazy" Negroes, "dishonest" Chinese and "incompetent" Asiatics could have been framed; but in the face of gentlemen from various human races of all shades and cultures, the fatal exceptions to sweeping rules of fitness continually occurred. The Southerner from the United States was forced to explain that all Negroes were not like this one; the Englishman was forced to show that Indians, fine as they might be personally, had fearful caste hatreds. The wretchedness of the fellaheen had to be balanced against the culture of the Egyptian delegates, and everywhere men found themselves facing old and familiar human problems which but helped to make the essential world humanity plausible.

It seems no exaggeration to say that a few world congresses like this would do more for the unity of mankind and reasonable sympathy between races, would do more for the stopping of war, slavery and oppression than any other single movement.

VII.—The Social Side.

The social side of a congress is usually the most interesting and this was true of the Races Congress. The opening reception was given July 25 at Fishmonger's Hall. There were fully a thousand guests and it was a gorgeous sight. On the day before Mr. and Mrs. Milholland gave an interesting reception. Lord Weardale entertained the writers of papers the following night, and on Thursday there were two receptions; one

TERUAKI KOBAYASHI
"Japan"

at the Lyceum Club and one at Claridge's Hotel. On Friday there was an official dinner, and on Monday the Countess of Warwick entertained the Congress at Warwick castle. Beside these official occasions there was an endless succession of luncheons, teas and dinners, all given quite regardless of the color line or racial lines, and in all cases the genuine courtesy of the English hosts was noticeable.

VIII.—Results of the Congress.

The tangible result of the Congress was the forming of an international committee. This international committee has the following nine objects:

(1) To urge the establishing of harmonious relations between the various divisions of mankind is an essential condition precedent to any serious attempt to diminish warfare and extend the practice of arbitration.

(2) To commend to individuals of different races coming into passing or permanent contact with one another conduct which shall be courteous and respectful.

(3) To induce each people to study sympathetically the customs and civilizations of other peoples, since even the lowliest civilizations have much to teach, and since every civilization should be reverenced as having deep historic roots.

(4) To emphasize that difference in civilization does not, as is often supposed, necessarily connote either inferiority or superiority.

(5) To study impartially and on a broad basis the physical and social effects of race blending and the cases which promote or hinder it, to request governments to compile statistics on the subject and to discourage hasty and crude generalizations on the subject.

(6) To point out the irreconcilability of the contention prevalent among the various peoples of the world that their customs, their civilizations and their physiques are superior to those of other peoples, and also to deprecate the loose manner in which the term "race" is popularly employed.

(7) To urge the paramount importance of providing in all lands a universal and efficient system of education—physical, intellectual and moral—as one of the principal means of promoting cordial relations within, and among, all divisions of mankind.

(8) To respect, or to endeavor to assimilate or change, the economic, hygienic, educational and moral standards of immigrants, rather than to regard them as indefensible or fixed.

(9) To collect records of experiments showing the successful uplifting of relatively backward peoples by the application of humane methods, and to urge the application of such methods universally.

It is also charged with the duty of holding future Races Congresses at least once in four years with the following leading object: "To promote cordial relations among all divisions of mankind, without regard to race, color or creed, and, in particular, to encourage a good understanding between East and West."

It is finally asked to establish an international institution whose object shall be to investigate and publish as well as form local organizations throughout the world.

From "A HYMN TO THE PEOPLES"
read before the Races Congress

Save us, World Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce
To make Humanity divine!

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

WOMEN'S CLUBS

STATE CONVENTIONS.

By Mrs. W. A. HUNTON

Those familiar with the joys and benefits of the summer conventions of clubwomen can understand why it is the preferred season for making more real the great purposes and plans of the club movement. It is impossible to make the ideal real except by an actual coming together. The summer is best for this because it is the season of greatest leisure; the time for counting gains and losses, and reviewing and revising for the coming year in the light of past success or failure. The summer convention takes the women into the fall work, alert because of the interchange of ideas and experiences and aglow with inspiration.

Some years ago the possibilities of the State Federation in extending and unifying the club movement began to be felt. To understand how many of these possibilities have been realized and others are in process of realization, it is simply necessary to sit in a convention of one of these Federations. There one catches a glimpse, not only of the splendid constructive agencies that have been set in motion for the betterment of humanity, and is won to a more intelligent appreciation of the difficult problems involved in such an effort, but is also able to see clearly a great advance in the idea of personal responsibility as well as in the joy and efficiency of volunteer service. All of this is simply marvelous when we remember that with great ideas and perseverance as their only capital these State Federations have achieved, in so short a period, so much that is really tangible and of positive value.

State conventions have been held the past summer in every section of the country. Some have had scores of delegates in attendance; others less than a score, but whether in the far South, where the lash of oppression descends, or in New England, where the conscience that was so long our cheer and hope seems now strangely held in leash, or yet in the far-off West where the problem has found its way, these conventions show but scant difference in their spirit and personnel. To an onlooker these women often appear overserious and restless, but it is rather an eagerness to grasp every fact and plan of the State Federation for the benefit of the local clubs who have honored them as dele-

DELEGATES OF THE ALABAMA STATE FEDERATION

gates. Long ago social functions were largely tabooed by these conventions, not only because they infringed upon the very limited time given to the sessions, but for the further reason that they necessitated trunks, when suitcases could have otherwise served, and often embarrassed delegates who were not prepared to attend such functions.

The program varies in different sections. There are addresses by people who, because of honored careers, add dignity and prestige to the convention, or by those whose work serves as an inspiration. There are innumerable committee meetings; there is music, but by far the best features of the program are the reports that come from individual clubs, from the various departments of the Federation, and especially the plans and outlook of that particular work which is for the common good of the State, and which is being fostered by the State Federation itself. A few facts with reference to several of the recent conventions of State Federations will be amply sufficient to illustrate what has been written.

The Mississippi convention, which met at Natchez in June, had representatives from twenty-five clubs in fifteen cities. In addition to the regular delegates there were present a large number of women from the country districts of the State, where neighborhood work has been extended. One would scarcely realize how far into the dark interiors of that State the clubwomen had carried the light of mothers' meetings, homekeeping and morality except for the reports and experiences coming out of that State convention.

After struggling for several years for a boys' reformatory the Alabama Federation was able to report at its last convention that the institution, which they had worked so faithfully to erect, had found favor with the Governor and State officials, and had been accepted by them to be supported as a State institution. Immediately these same women bowed themselves to the burden once more by resolving to work as assiduously as ever for the erection of a reformatory for girls—another of Alabama's great needs.

Another June convention was that of South Carolina. A few of the topics discussed show the trend of their work: "Child Study as a Preparation for Moral Uplift," "What Steps to Elevate Our Young People?" "How to Safeguard Our Girls," and "The Mother, Daughter and Social Purity." As a result of the club movement the kindergarten idea has taken root in South Carolina, and in every considerable town this special blessing for children is being supported by local clubs.

The Virginia Federation was organized three years ago at the Hampton Negro Conference with fourteen clubs. The last convention had sixty-four clubs represented. As a first offering for an industrial home for the wayward colored girls of the State, $600 were laid on the table. Mr. C. H. Gilliam, of Roanoke, presented the convention with a tract of land in Appomatox County on which to

MRS. F. R. KEYSER
President New York State Federation

erect the proposed home. The State Board of Charities is manifesting great interest in the work, and there is scarcely a doubt but that this will develop into another State institution.

Thirty clubs from Washington, Utah and Colorado sent seventy delegates to their combined convention, recently held at Colorado Springs. Funds to the amount of $200 were distributed among charitable institutions of these States. A large and valuable collection of fancy work was on exhibition and was subject to prize awards. Another feature of the convention was a round table on "Our Boys: Their Work, Play and Religion."

The Empire State Federation held sway in the pretty little city of Yonkers for two days. The program, which it was gratifying to see so faithfully followed, was the most practical and, withal, the most ideal we have read. The annual address of the president, Mrs. F. R. Keyser, was an exhaustive review of conditions among colored people throughout the country and especially New York State, and an appeal for a larger and more earnest effort among clubwomen that not only stirred every hearer, but which was well worthy of preservation. An important step was taken in the decision of this Federation to investigate and provide for the needs of Mother Tubman. Immediately after the convention, the new president, Mrs.

Wm. H. Talbert, of Buffalo, made the investigation; her findings were made public and so soon a linen shower has provided this old warrior with an abundance of good things, and the Federation will send twenty-five dollars per month to further her comfort for the remainder of her life.

The Northeastern Federation, which convened in New Haven, can hardly be classed as a State Federation, being an aggregation of local clubs from a large number of States, and yet its ideals are essentially the same, as well as its work. An organization of great power, it is bringing the women of New England into an actual oneness that were otherwise impossible. Much excellent work stands to honor this Federation, and now it proposes to give its means to the extension of the settlement idea at strategic points. The anti-lynching department has not only published a statistical pamphlet, but stirred the convention by exhibiting a list of the vast year's lynchings. The Rev. Charles Stowe and Mr. Joseph Manning were among the guests of this convention.

The speaking, the reports, the plans have been made, but the end of the convention is but the beginning of work with a fresher, richer, more embracing vision of the possibilities of the club movement.

JOHN BROWN

The death of Eugene F. Ware, of Kansas, formerly Commissioner of Pensions, and author of "The Rhymes of Ironquill," suggests the publication in THE CRISIS at this time of his poem, "John Brown."

JOHN BROWN.

States are not great
Except as men may make them;
Men are not great except they do and dare.
But States, like men,
Have destinies that take them—
That bear them on, not knowing why or where.

All merit comes
From braving the unequal;
All glory comes from daring to begin.
Fames loves the State
That, reckless of the sequel,
Fights long and well, whether it lose or win.

Than in our State
No illustration apter
Is seen or found of faith and hope and will.
Take up her story:
Every leaf and chapter
Contains a record that conveys a thrill.

And there is one
Whose faith, whose fight, whose failing,
Fame shall placard upon the walls of time.
He dared begin—
Despite the unavailing,
He dared begin, when failure was a crime.

When over Africa
Some future cycle
Shall sweep the lake-gemmed uplands with its surge;
When, as with trumpet
Of Archangel Michael,
Culture shall bid a colored race emerge;

When busy cities
There, in constellations,
Shall gleam with spires and palaces and domes,
With marts wherein
Is heard the noise of nations;
With summer groves surrounding stately homes—

There, future orators
To cultured freemen
Shall tell of valor, and recount with praise
Stories of Kansas,
And of Lacedæmon—
Cradles of freedom, then of ancient days.

From boulevards
O'erlooking both Nyanzas,
The statured bronze shall glitter in the sun,
With rugged lettering:

"JOHN BROWN OF KANSAS:
HE DARED BEGIN;
HE LOST,
BUT, LOSING WON."

WHAT TO READ

BOOKS.

Fothergill, Edward—"Five Years in the Soudan." London.
A criticism of British rule. The natives are growing "insolent."
Honey, James A.—"South Africa Folk Tales." Baker.
Negro folk lore.

PERIODICALS.

"Local Study of the Race Problem in Georgia." R. P. Brooks. Political Science Quarterly, June.
"Southern Justice to the Negro." Outlook, June 17.
"Message to the North." C. T. Crowell. Independent, May.
Negro suffrage.
"Negro in the New World." Review of Sir Harry Johnston's. Nature, Dec. 28, 1910. Living-Age, Jan. 21, 1911. American Journal of Sociology, March.
"Farce of San Antonio." Independent, April 13.
"People of Africa," Etc., Review of Theal's. Nature, Feb. 23.
"Colored Boys' Broom Brigade." World To-day, January.
"Health Problems of the Negroes." J. A. Kenney. Annals of the American Academy, March.
"Legislation Concerning Personal and Racial Problems." F. J. Stimson. Popular Law Making.
"Negro Segregation in Cities." Chautauquan, March.

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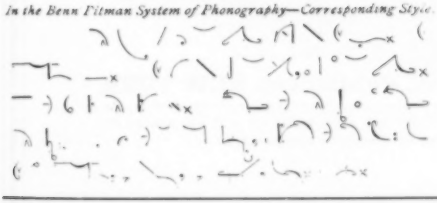

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